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T H E

FREE and IMPARTIAL EXAMINER:

B E I N G

A Candid E N Q U I R Y into the
Causes of our present Melancholy SITU-
ATION, with Regard both to *Domestick*
and *Foreign* A F F A I R S.

T O G E T H E R

With a W O R D in Defence of the *Dutch's*
not entring into our M E A S U R E S.

*Quod tegitur, majus creditur esse malum,
Magna est Veritas & prevalebit.*

MART.

L O N D O N :

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

*I*T is very amazing into what a new Strain of Policy we are now arrived, that we are become so ready to Protect and Defend the whole World. To fight other Peoples Battles; Garrison their fortified Towns, and supply them with Money on every trifling Occasion; is a Degree of Quixotism, even beyond what Cervantes ever thought of inspiring into his mad Knight, and really when I reflect on the many Extravagent Adventures, that has beset Old England, by her intermeddling with Affairs on the Continent: I can hardly persuade my self that the Life of Don Quixot is a Romance.

Woull

iv The P R E F A C E.

Would it not surprise any one of common Sense, to observe, how assiduously we send out our Forces, to supply foreign Armies and Garrisons, when we know not how soon we may be in want of them at Home? who will venture to engage that, when the French King thinks he has sufficiently drained this Island of Men, that he will not attempt to invade it? Then of what Advantage will all our Forces abroad be to us? ----

“ O ! says a cunning Fellow, one of our new Politicians, we can soon fetch them back from Ostend ; and the same Wind brings the French hither, brings our Troops hither”.

Aye ! very fine and pretty truly—— But suppose the Wind should change in the Interim between the Arrival of the Enemy, and our sending for our Forces—— Or what is more probable, what if a large French Fleet

The P R E F A C E. v

Fleet should lie at the Mouth of Ostend Harbour? ——— Why then, says he, ours must go out and fight them. But is not this loosing a great deal of Time, and in Cases of such Immergency, every Moment seems an Hour. But how could our Fleet possibly get up to Ostend if the Wind set fair for bringing our Forces from thence hither? But then, says my Politician again, we would raise the Country--- And indeed that would do finely against an Army of regular Forces— tho' all these Expedents would be unnecessary, if we keep but a few more of our Soldiers at Home.

*When I first undertook the following Sheets, I had no other Design than only to trace the Causes of the present Scenes; but I could not forbear, when I found the Blame of all our Miscarriages was laid upon the Dutch, to mention a Word or two in
their*

vi The P R E F A C E.

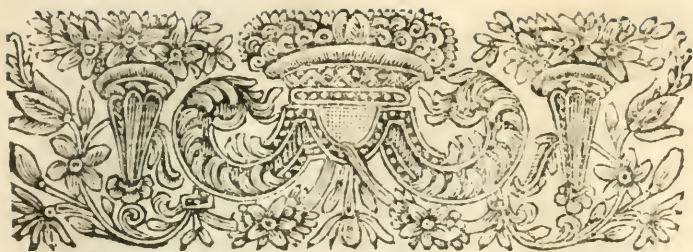
their Behalf : ——— It is certain, that we have Accusations enough against them, for not fulfilling their Engagements to us both by Land and Sea : But that by bullying and worrying, they shall be obliged to enter into a War, right or wrong, is what no free People under the Sun, will, I believe submit to.

*— As my Representations through on the whole of this little Piece, may have too much Veracity to suit the Polite Tastes of some of our new Petit Maitres of M-----rs: I very much fear that I shall not escape the invidious Appellations, of Jacobite, Tory, and Coward : But as the two former are almost worn out, by their familiar stigmatizing everyone therewith, who is so unhappy as to contradict their Sentiments, it gives me not the least Anxiety. And as to the latter of these Appellations, I think
the*

THE P R E F A C E. vii
*the Man, who endeavours to set his
Country right in any Case, or to in-
form her of any Thing to Advantage,
in a Time of general Degeneracy;
that Man does not deserve it----for
he that bravely employs his Pen in
his Country's Cause, may truly be
said to serve her Indeed.*



THE



T H E
F R E E and I M P A R T I A L
E X A M I N E R.



HOEVER has the Good of his Country at Heart, and reflects on the enormous Grievances, and deplorable Disadvantages, which she at present lies under, and has endured for some Time past ; cannot, I am persuaded, forbear joining with me in employing his Thoughts on the Means of redressing those Grievances, and extenuating the Disadvantages. This is certainly a Duty incumbent on an honest Man at all Times ; but more especially in Time of apparent Danger, whether arising from willful *Infatuation*,

B

tuation, Degeneracy, or Corruption ; or from unavoidable Misfortunes.

It is certain, no Government can be so wise but it may be overseen, nor so sagacious but it may be deceived : And it is universally acknowledged, that when Foresight fails Experience must be our Guide : For when we perceive by the Event, that we have trusted to false Appearances, Conjectures, Surmises, and Opinions, insomuch that our Expectations are deceived ; it behoves us to rectify our Conduct in the shortest Time possible ; and not to suffer Evils to grow to that Height by Neglect, as to become insusceptible of all Remedy, and Error to beget Error, till it is impossible to disintangle the Complication, nor Misfortune to follow Misfortune, till we are entirely overwhelmed ; but to endeavour, in the shortest Time possible, to attain the Paths of Wisdom and Safety, the sure Way to Honour and Renown.

In order to which it is necessary to enquire into the Causes of our Mistakes, Misfortunes, and Disappointments : as it is a well known Principle, universally true, that every different Effect has a different Cause ; we must trace Causes by Effects, and when discovered, endeavour to counter-act or remove

move them ; that thereby we attain that Remedy for our past Deception which we so earnestly seek after : For it is in Matters of State as in Physick, when the Cause of the Disease is discovered, the Cure is half perfected.

It is certain that Nature has not been sparing in her Bounties, to render us a free independant and happy People ; and we can boast of more Advantages of that Sort, than any People on the Face of the Earth. She has seated us on an *Island*, invironed with Seas, capacious enough to prevent any Anxiety from the ambitious Views, or mercenary Quarrels, of our Neighbours on the Continent : And to compleat our Happiness has given us wherewithal to render ourselves Masters of those Seas. No Island can abound more with the Produce of Necessaries for Life at home ; nor can be better situated for Commerce abroad ; inso much that we export our superabundant Necessaries, to import Luxuries from distant Climes. Our People are ingenious in Arts and Sciences, and have ever been characterized, in the Histories of all Nations, as People of an intrepid, masculine Spirit, indefatigable in Pursuit of their Designs. *British* Valour was never questioned, and tho' *Voltaire* in his Life of *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, from a superficial Knowledge of

us, rashly asserts, *That the English of these Days are dwindled to nothing in respect to what they were in Cromwell's Time.* Nevertheless I am convinced by the gallant Behaviour of my Countrymen at *Fountenoy*, fighting in a foreign Cause against Batteries of the largest Cannon designed for destroying Stone Walls, not Men, and over-powered by the Superiority of Numbers ; that even their Enemies must allow they are not less intrepid now, than in the Days of *Queen Ann* when headed by a *Marlborough*; which I take to be the Ara of their Glory. Hence it is easy to perceive that we want not for Soldiers, and it is equally certain, that we have many valiant Commanders, and sagacious Statesmen ; and to crown all are are blessed with a *Monarch* whose chief Care is the Happiness of his People, and the Tranquility of *Europe*; whose passionate Love for *Liberty* is such, as ever to be ready, even at the Hazard of his own Royal Person ; to oppose the Destroyers of it ; thereby anxiously endeavouring to Communicate to all Nations, those inestimable Blessings of Freedom, which his own Subjects, under his auspicious Protection so amply enjoy.

If we come to examine our *Constitution*, there is no Nation in the World can compare

pare with us for the Wisdom of its Institution. The People are independant, and frame their own Laws, leaving only the executive Power to the Prince ; who whilst he distributes them justly, is ever sure of reigning in the Hearts of his People, the only Place where a wise Monarch would chuse to establish his Throne. Our *Parliament* is the Grand Council, and Grand Inquest of the Nation, ever ready to advise the *Throne* in Case of Emergency, or to defend it in Times of Danger : And it is equally the Interest of a King of *England* to govern his Subjects with Lenity, as it is theirs strenuously to support him in such a Government. Where the mutual Interests of King and People, are so strongly interwoven and united by such incomplicable Bands, What *Foreign* Power but must regard them with Awe and Veneration, and respect the Decree of the Prince as the Voice of his Subjects, or the Resolutions of the Subjects, as the Pleasure of their Prince? --- Such an excellent Harmony of Minds must certainly give great weight to all our foreign Negotiations ; and renders our Monarch more glorious, than that Prince whose Will is his Law.

Thus while we preserve our Constitution entire, it may be said to be a Wall unto us
both

both on the Right, and on the Left; preserving us from Danger both at home and abroad, and ever making us to be revered and dreaded by our Neighbours : But if we suffer the least Breach to be made therein, it may be widened in Time, insomuch as to expose us to the Assaults of those, who formerly we contemned.

Tho' our Constitution is so excellent in itself; our Soldiers so brave, and our Senators and Statesmen are endowed with such penetrating Wisdom; yet, by whatever Fatality it has happened, it is now manifestly evident, to all that shall compare our present State with our former, that we have been for several Years past entangled in a strong Snare of false Politicks; even as apparently contrary to the Interest of our Country, as Darkness is to Light, and seem to have been chain'd down, in a State of *Egyptian* palpable Darkness, with a Chain of Blunders and Follies, which we have drawn out, Link by Link. We have annually exhausted our Treasures to aggrandize our Enemies, and employed several Years of Negotiation to incite Insults, Depredations, and Invasions; we have courted and engaged almost every Power of *Europe* to assist us, yet none will stir to our help, unless paid an exorbitant Price to the utmost Farthing.

By

By pursuing such erroneous Measures for many Years past, we are at length become a *weak, infatuated, mercenary, and corrupted* People at Home. Our C——s resulting from Men of different Principles, Views, and Interests ; are feeble, unsteady, and irresolute, and the Execution of them weak and timid : Orders are issued in such a Manner, that Officers know not how to obey, regarding their Interest in the *Cabinet*, more than their Behaviour in their Command. Our *Armies* and *Fleets* are replete with *Minions* of Power, promoted by parliamentary Interest, not Merit ; which unjust Promotions must ever create jealousy in the meritorious ; and to this alone, may be attributed all our heinous Miscarriages, from the Affair of *Carthagera*, to that of *Toulon* ; which may be a Warning to future Ages, not to suffer Interest, even in Times of Peace, to transplant Merit. Our Successes are as motley as our Councils, one Day we gain a small something, and the next lose ten-fold as much ; this occasions the People to be uneasy, mistrustful, and dead-hearted ; but however, shews at the same Time how thoroughly the Love and regard for the present Royal Family is ingrafted in their Hearts ; as it it would be utterly impossible, even for the ablest Ministry, to make them bear such Afflictions under any other Government

ment, without more grievous and open murmurings and repinings, which, whatever Appearances their Countenances and Behaviours at present may carry, Thanks be to God, we hear nothing of from their Tongues.

Our *Commerce*, notwithstanding the Puffs of our Men of War and Privateers, is visibly upon the Decay ; owing to the many Captures lately made by the Enemy, and the prodigious Price of Insuranc^e, together with the shameful delay of Convoys ; not to mention the large Share that the *D — b* have taken the Opportunity to deprive us off, which will be a more lasting Advantage to them, than any other that could accrue from the War, and consequently is an inestimable Loss to us. Our Lands are devoured with those Locusts call'd Taxes, and as to our Funds, if a Bankrupt Nation may be said to have any ; they are filled with the Money of Foreigners, who are ever ready to take Advantage of our Necessities ; insomuch that by a sudden Draught, they could do us immense Damages, by leaving us little else than Paper to circulate. This obliges our monied People to hoard their Bags, not caring to advance a Farthing on Trade or otherways, except in Land Security ; and this, consequently, must occasion that miserable

able degree of Poverty, which is every where beheld amongst the meaner Sort of People who cannot get Bread, for want of Encouragement and Employment. Thus by People being prevented from employing their Money in Trade, our Manufactures lie idle, the Work-houses fill, and our Poors Rate encreases; which we must either pay, or those miserable Wretches must perish.

That this is the melancholy State of Affairs at home, will, I believe, be readily granted me by most: But that I may not seem to aggravate Matters, by Assertions without Proofs, I shall confirm what I have said, by bringing such as the Nature of my Subject will admit of.

Whether our present Councils do not proceed from Men of different *Principles, Fictives and Interests*? I shall leave to the Decision of any Gentleman, of any Party whatever, who has been acquainted with the Scene of Affairs for about twenty Years past. — let him but take the List in his Hand — and I dare engage he will give me his Affirmative on the Question: And if it was needful, I could from their former, and present Conduct, distinctly enumerate the ruling Passion of every individual amongst
C them

them.—— But personal Reflections, and Alterations, are what I utterly detest.—— That our C —ls are feeble, unsteady, and irresolute, is plain, by the Frequency of Couriers, or Messengers, passing and repassing, betwixt *Whiteb—ll* and *H-n-v-r*. Tho' a Plan or Design for any future Operation be formed at either of these Places, it must undergo Examination at the other, before it can be perfected; which causes a considerable Quantity of Time to be wasted. For setting the Case that our M——y here had formed the most specious Project, (from some Intelligence they had received) for stopping the Progress of the Arms of *France*, their Scheme must be entrusted to some Courier to carry to *H——r*, before it can be executed; and consequently runs a great Risque of falling into the Hands of the *French*, either by Sea or Land.—— But supposing it to get safe thither, and meet with the R-y-l Appropriation, it must come hither again before Orders can be given for the Execution of it; and certainly runs the same Risque over again in its Return; and perhaps, by that Time Affairs may be so altered as to render it impracticable. If any manner of Doubt should arise at *H——r*, concerning the Plausibility of the Scheme, or the Manner of the Execution, Where has the K——g his *British* Council

Council to advise with ? Surely none will pretend to avouch the Head of a single *Secretary*, equivalent to that of the whole Board ? and it were heartily to be wished, that when his M——y thinks proper to visit his *German* Dominions, he were to be accompanied with a Committee of C ——l for urgent Affairs, as well as a Sec——y of State.—— Thus the Resolutions of C——l, by waiting so long before they can be put in Execution, become by the sudden and unexpected Turns of Affairs, feeble, unsteady, and irresolute ; and consequently the Orders issued thereon, must be encumbered with so many Restrictions, as to render it almost impossible for any Officer to obey.

It would be unnecessary to go about to prove, that our Army and Fleets, are full of Commanders that were created by the Power and Interest of themselves or Relations, and not by Merit ; since no one, that has observed, through what Channels Promotions in those Branches have glided for many Years past, can be ignorant of it ; and if notorious that the S——y of W——r, has long since been allowed to fill up a certain Number of C——m——ff——s, with the Names of the best P——r-h——f——rs he could meet with. This Affair, indeed, narrowly escaped an Examination in the House

of C-m-m-ns, but, like a great many other good Things, it was laid aside. The Effect of such military Promotions we feel severely, and may very well say to those in Power at that Time, as the Frogs did to the Boys that pelted them, in the Fable, *It was but Play to them, but it is Death to us*: Nevertheless, I hope, we shall profit by Experience, especially as it is never too late to learn Wisdom.

That our Gains by the War will ballance our Losses, will easily appear, on considering that we must take a great Number of Privateers, to defray the Expence of building and fitting out such a fine Ship as the *Northumberland*: And it appears by the List handed about, that the *French* and *Spaniards*, are not much behind us in their Captures, either for the Number or Value

Luc of Ships. Indeed Admiral *Anson's* Voyage produced a fine Show, and made a great Talk : But when it comes to be considered that there was not an Halfpenny of it publick Money, I believe our Landholders will not think themselves much benefited by his Acquisitions ; and indeed, had the whole Treasure, with which he made such a grand *Parade*, been for publick Service, it would have done little more than rebuilt the Ships that were lost, and paid the Wages due to the Officers and Men that died in the Expedition : Nor would double the Money defray half the Expences of the *Campaign*. But the People must be pleased if it is but with a Droll.

That the People are uneasy, mistrustful, and deadhearted, is obvious even to the Eyes of the Meanest : And that our Commerce is decayed

decayed any one may easily be convinced, by comparing our Imports and Exports with what they were at any former Time, even that of the late War. Nobody, surely, will have the Affrontery to contradict my Assertion of the *D-ch* running away with our Trade, since it is well known they carry on a very advantageous Commerce with *Spain*, and make great Returns from the *Spanish* and *French* Settlements in *America*, by supplying them with Fish taken upon our own Coasts: This they do openly; as to their private Efforts to supplant us they are too many to be enumerated at present, and of which, perhaps, I may give a particular Account in another Place.

However unequal our Land Tax may be assessed, nevertheless, it is certain that the Rent great Part of
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the Lands of *England*, fall into the King's Hands every *fifth* Year ; indeed some that are easier rated may hold out to the *Sixth* or *Seventh*. However, tho' the Landholders do not perceive the Effects of it immediately, yet they become so sensible of it in process of Time, as to be obliged either to sell or mortgage. ----- As to our Public Funds, it is true the three great Companies keep up their Stocks at a high Price: ---- But may not this be to draw in Buyers? ---- Who is it, excepting the Directors of the respective Companies, that can be able to make even a moderate Estimate of their Profits, or who can inform us whether they are Gainers or Loosers by Trade? --- They may be able to furnish the Government with a Sum of Money, for an Emergency at an easy Rate, and to make pretty large Dividends ----- 'Tis
their

their Interest to keep up their Credit strongly, especially in Time of War when they run most Hazards. Many a Banker has kept open Shop for some Time, with very little but Paper to traffick withal, much more large Companies, whose Stocks consist mostly in the Fortunes of Widows and Orphans ; that are retir'd far into the Country, in order to live cheap on such Interests and Dividends as their Fortunes produce : But should there happen a general Draught for Money, so that the Proprietors of these Companies should be obliged to sell, lamentable I fear would be the Effects. --- But this, I only mention by the Bye, in answer to those ; who from the Rise and Fall of Stocks, judge of the Affluence or Poverty of the Nation ; and Stocks being now at a high Rate, it affords some People an Opportunity of exulting, and
arguing

arguing from thence, that we are in the most prosperous Circumstances ; but how justly I leave to others Determination. The large Sums that Foreigners are allowed to advance in our Funds, will always give them an Opportunity of improving their Money ; and at the same Time preserves the Ballance of Trade in their Favour ; while it obliges our very great monied Men at home, either to hoard their Cash, or to employ it in a usurious Manner for want of that Admittance into the Publick Loans, which is afforded to Strangers, to our immense Disadvantage. It may indeed seem incredible that large Sums should be laid by to mould in such a Trading Nation as this : ---- But as others, as well as my self, are equally sensible of the Veracity of the Fact ; I need only appeal to them, to satisfy my Reader if he should be unacquainted with

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it. This, together with the Havock made by the Enemy's Privateers, are the Causes of our *Manufactures* lying idle ; to put which out of Doubt, I refer any one to examine that of *Printing of Linens*, in which Branch of Trade, there has been several topping Masters become Bankrupts since the War began with *Spain* ; and those that yet hold up their Heads, do not now employ above four Hands in the *Printing*, that used to have twenty or thirty in constant Work. ----- Ask them the Reason, they will tell you, That there is no call from abroad ; our Men of War are idle, the *French* and *Spanish* Privateers snap up all the Ships, and the *D---tch* engross all the Trade in the *West Indies* ; by supplying our Colonies with printed and stained Linens, much cheaper than we can afford to do, on Account of the Insurance running

running so high. I mention this Branch of Trade in particular, as I take it to be a very great one ; it making great Returns yearly from all the foreign Plantations before the War began ; and was the Support of numberless Families of Poor, by employing even the Women and Children at very competent Wages. But since this Decay, the Cutters and Printers, who earned their two Guineas a Week, must be obliged either to enlist for Soldiers, enter for Seamen, or go to *Holland* for to get Employment : Our home Consumption not being sufficient to support them. Which, if we should regain this Branch upon a Peace, will cause the few Workmen that shall be left to raise their Prices to such a Degree, that few Masters will be able to employ them ; or, perhaps, by our Want of Hands, it will enable our good Friends the *Dutch* to keep

on the Trade to as much Advantage as they do at present.

I could produce the *Glass*, and several other Manufactures, for Proofs of my Assertion, that our Manufactures are decaying and idle ; but the daily filling our Work-houses, and Increase of the Poor's Rate, are such undeniable Testimonies of it and so evident, to every one that keeps House, or pays Taxes ; that it will admit of no Dispute.

Having thus finished my View of our home Affairs, I shall proceed to give a Sketch of our foreign ; and then enquire into the Causes of the lamentable Prospect resulting from both.

If Affairs at home afford such a melancholy Spectacle, I am afraid that those abroad will not furnish a much better ; and that the Confusion

sion of our *Foreign* Concerns, will equal the Disorder of our Domestic. It is true, I have not all the Lights I could wish for on this Head ; neither can I take upon me to say that I am Master of our present political *System* : But as this latter, perhaps, is what some of the greatest Politicians in the M---y be deficient in, as well as myself, I do not fear to set forth and account for the State of our foreign Affairs, without the Help of that System, or any other : And shall be so little of a *Philosopher* as to take Things as they really appear, and endeavour from thence to ascertain their Causes ; leaving our political *Sophisters* to defend themselves by the same egregious Thread of Blunders, that led them into the Snare.

I shall not enter upon a Detail of the different Faces and Appearances,

ces, that Affairs on the Continent have put on since the Commencement of the War ; neither shall I point out the Times when we have B---bb---d the Court of *Vienna*, or they us ; it is well known that the Queen of *H----g-----y* has been our Tool--- and we in return have been hers : But I shall confine my self to the present Posture, that our Affairs seem to stand in on the Continent ; it being such as will hardly admit of any Disguise, therefore, is the fitter to be used to come at the Truth, in the Investigation of the real Cause.

Altho' we are *Islanders*, and consequently independant on any Power on the Continent, yet our Concerns there are become so very large, that it puts me to some Difficulty to know in what Part I shall open the Scene : But as the Low Countries have

have always been looked upon as more immediately under our Tuition, I think it will not be improper to make Entrance there. -----

In *Flanders*, then, the *French* King at the Head of a numerous Army (which we like kind nursing Fathers have suffered him to muster up, by our Indolence) has carried all before him ; and is become Master of *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Ghent*, and *Bruges* ; Places that cost us immense Blood and Treasure. Nothing could have preserved *Ostend* from falling into his Hands, but Heaven it self, by sending down such Rains as rendered the Roads thither impassible to his Artillery. The Allied Army after a rash, improper, and desperate Attempt to relieve *Tournay*, have been obliged continually to retreat from one Post to another, 'till they have quitted *Flanders* ; being reduced to
such

such a weak Condition, as not to be able to attack the *French* Army, when so advantageous an Opportunity offered (as themselves own) on their being obliged to march their Men thro' the Defiles at *Gramont*, in order to lay Siege to *Oudenarde*. But such is our Misfortune, that the *French* Army, even by a moderate Computation, amounts to above double the Number of ours ; and moreover, is furnished with a grand Train of *Artillery*. Our Forces are at length skulked even beyond *Brussels*, near to *Louvain*, where the *French* daily raise Contributions, even under their Noses. As to Affairs on the *Rhine*, they lately had a very melancholy Aspect ; but it seems they have recovered pretty much of late, and the Prince of *Conti* is said to be flying before the *Grand Duke's* Army ; if so, and his Flight is real, 'tis well. ---- In *Bohemia* the con-
joined

joined Army are in almost as bad a Plight, since their last Action, as that of the Allies in *Flanders*. They still continuing on the Retreat, and the *Prussian* Monarch seems vigorously bent to make use of all Advantages.

In *Italy* the King of *Sardinia*, seems to be hard put to it, by the *French* and *Spaniards*; especially as the *Genoese* have joined the latter, fearing neither our Threats nor Bombardments. As to the *Venetians*, 'tis imagined that our Ambassador, far from raising their Spirits, has lulled them into a *Lethargy*.--- The Empress of *Russia*, after all her fine Promises of twelve and sixteen thousand Men, *which we have so often been told were upon the March*, will enter into no Measures on our Account, but such as are entirely pacific; and begs to be excused

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performing her Engagements other Ways. The *Dutch* very kindly shake Hands with the *French*, with their Right Hand, and offer us their Swords in the Left : ----- *Such is the View of Affairs on the Continent.*

As I have been as concise as possible in the above Sketch, so I have taken Care not to exaggerate any Article. That Things on the Continent are at present in this woeful Situation, is what any one that reads a News Paper, from the P-----r to the Cobbler, cannot fail observing, and I take it that whatever is so very obvious as not to admit of any Contradiction needs no Proof. I believe most of my Readers will readily agree with me, That Things both at Home and Abroad are in the same Situation, as I have represented them, if not in a Worse.

Courtiers,

Courtiers, Placemen, and Pensioners, indeed may possibly pretend to trump up some Stuff under the Denomination of Arguments to the contrary: But I shall not heed such Wretches ---- unless by observing, that it is as impossible for any one in their Stations, to frame a Judgment on the Welfare of the Nation, as for a blind Man to make Observations on Colours. ----- It is true, they have their Senses as well as we; but their Heads are become so dizzy, by being placed on the Pinnacle of Power, and their Eyes so blinded, by the Gold-Dust that flies about them; as renders it impossible that they should have distinct Ideas of any Thing, besides their Places and Profits. They may guess indeed, at the State of the Ex---ch---r, by the early or late Payment of their Salaries; but therein lies their *Ne plus ultra*. The State of the

Nation, the State of the Community, or the State of Affairs on the Continent, are Things as far beyond their Knowledge as their Judgment.

If our Army beats the Enemy, they are ever ready to make Bonfires, and drink loyal Healths, at the Crown and People's Expence.---- But if they beat us ---- then they'll drink to our better Success in the next Action. ----- But leaving these Wretches, these Minions, and Tools of Power, to wallow in their Mire. I shall now endeavour from the present Scene of Affairs, before premised, to trace out the latent Causes thereof ; and though I should fail in my Attempt through the Difficulty of the Task, I dare engage, that my Pains will not be unrewarded, by the Variety of Observations that will occur on the many differ-

different Objects that arise in the Pursuit.

It will be necessary before we attempt the Cause, to make use of a small Retrospection, wherein we shall perceive the Nation in general groaning under the Bonds of Corruption for above twenty Years; in which Time, he that was ashamed to be corrupt, was thought unqualified for any Employment, whether civil or military. All Places were bartered either for Money or Interest; and the chief Minister gloried in his Power, over a Race of venal Creatures: He hung out the Banner of Corruption, under which whoever sought Honours or Preferment, were obliged to list. The Influence of Venality soon spread from C---t to Country, and was speedily dispersed all over the Kingdom: Every *Borough* had its set Price;

Price; and the *Cobler* that had a Vote knew the Value of it as well as the Buyer. Nay, Things were come to that pass, that several appeared publickly under the Denomination of Election Jobbers, who knew their Business, and practised it with as much Dexterity, as their Brethren in *Change Alley*: But not without doing a great deal more Harm to the Nation. ---- however, happily there was yet a Remnant of another Party left, that had the Modesty at least to Cloath themselves in the Garments of Incorruption, and as Honesty generally prevails in the long run, they, at last, got the Better of the M-----r and displaced him: Their Leader soon took the Opportunity to slip into his Place, and when the whole Nation cried aloud for dragging the Old Offender to Punishment, he very generously skreened him from
their

their Attempts. This surprised every one at first, but it soon appeared that the New M---r loved Corrupting as well as the Old one, tho' he did not understand the Art so well for want of Practice; and being of a daring Spirit he would often attempt even greater Practices than his Predecessor, without being so certain of a Majority: But this Overbearance of his proved a Downfal to him at last. --- Indeed, during the short Time of his Reign, he took care to displace some of the most notorious of the late M----r's Gang, --- but filled up their Places with rather worse from his own. Men were changed but not Measures; --- excepting that the former M-----r being of a timorous Spirit, knew how to make Advantage of Peace. But this being rash and daring, resolved to glut himself with the Spoils of War, that is with the
 Spoils

Spoils of the People in the Time of War. To this End, yet altho' we were already at War with *Spain*, on Account of our Trade, and had had but indifferent Success; he very assiduously provokes another implacable Enemy to fall upon us, and leads us by degrees into a ruinous, and expensive War on the Continent; even, at a Time, when he knew that our Allies would not partake of the Quarrel. Happily for us, one Campaign passed away inactively on our Side; the Enemy being near treble our Number all the Time, so that our Men were destined to survive Destruction a Year longer: But before another Campaign came about all *E-----d* had the Pleasure to see their Tormentor driven from his Post, to their no small Joy.

I must confess my self at a Loss
to

to understand, what Motive could induce our evil Genius ? for so I must call him, to leave us helpless, friendless, and almost moneyless into a Land War with a rich and powerful Enemy unless he had premeditated our Destruction beforehand ! Experience must needs have shewn, him by our former Successes, that should it turn out even more to our Advantage than our most sanguine Wishes could flatter us, nevertheless we should be sure to come off Losers, as we could not possibly keep any Acquisitions we should make ! But it seems our great M-----r and *Patriot*, had other Views and Designs in his Head, *England* he thought had already been agrandized sufficiently by former Wars, and he was willing another *Territory* should come in for a Share, in order to curry Favour with his Master. He therefore wile-

ly decreed, that what we won
H---r should wear.

I know it will be asked, as he has often done in a very gross manner, * *What can H-----r get by our beating the French out of Flanders?* Or, what will they benefit by our Acquisitions there? To this I answer, The more the *French* are weakened in *Flanders*, or elsewhere, the less will they be able to prosecute any Designs against that Elec-----te. And I should be glad to know, Whether, that in Case we were able to make any Conquest in *French Flanders*, and retain them till a Peace came about; whether, I say, the *French King* would not be glad to induce his Allies, for some Equivalent to surrender certain Territories to that El-ct-rate in order to regain his own
in

in *Flanders* ? The Cession that was made to recover *Lorain* to the Crown of *France*, is too well known to be repeated. And if his L--df---p, or any other Person, will immediately convence me, that *H----*r has no Views, no designs, nor Pretentions, to any other Territories, besides those she is in present Possession of ; or that she would have the Modesty to refuse the Exceptance of any other acquired or exchanged at our Expence, I will instantly give up the Question ; and fairly allow, that our Conquests in the Low Countries would be of no Advantage to *H---r* : But till then, I must beg to be excused from submitting to his L--df--p's superior Judgment on this Point.

But to return, no sooner had this great Man resigned, or rather no

sooner was he obliged to do it than
 we found *Or-f-rd's* Maxim verified,
That every Man has his Price ; and
 this so manifestly, that even those
 whose immense Estates and Honours
 should have put them out of the
 Reach of all Court Allurements,
 were the first to run into the in-
 charmed Circle. The late M---r's
 Creatures were soon sent adrift, and a
 Race of nominal Patriots succeeded.
 Men that had seen and suffered,
 under the Management of both the
 former M---rs, and were thought
 by the whole Nation, the properest
 to give a better Turn to Affairs.
 Soon as they entered on Business,
 some Overtures were made to pre-
 vent the Progress of Corruption ;
 but they were very little if at all
 hearkened to ---- they found us en-
 tered into a War with *France* and
Spain, with not a Friend to assist
 us, unless we paid them for it : As
 for

for the *Dutch* they absolutely declared off any Thing, farther than acting as *Auxiliaries* --- the Queen of *Hungary* was re-established in the Possession of all her Territories, and soon after the Death of the *Emperor* happened . --- which Accident was regarded by every one, as the sure fore-runner of a Peace.

Indeed it would have been happy for us, had our new M-----y taken that favourable Opportunity to make some Overtures, or to gain some Powers to mediate Peace for us ; as they well knew the whole Burthen and Expence of the War, must otherwise fall to our Share. --- But unluckily, there was no Man thought so proper to enter our Patriots into Ministerial Arts, as one that had been the Tool of both the former ; and he was put at the Head of them, having served a double Prenticeship
to

to Corruption, undet O---rf---d ;
 and half a one to proffessed
H---n---o---v---n Principles, under
 his Successor.--- He well knew that
 however acceptable a Peace might
 be to the People of *England*, he
 could not make his Court with it at
 another Place : ---- But however,
 he managed Matters very dextrous-
 ly --- made great Promises of re-
 forming Abuses, and destroying
 Corruption, &c. until such Time
 as he found the new entered *Patriots*
 had tasted the Sweets of Preferment;
 and then, he changed both his Tone
 and his Measures. It was too late
 for them to look back, they had
 begun to relish the Delights of
 Power ---- they had been at con-
 siderable Expences to be re-chosen
 for their Corporations, and in fine,
 they came as ready into C---t
 Measures, as even the Old Minister
 himself could wish.

Now

Now far from endeavouring to acquire Peace on honourable Terms, they breathed nothing but War; and to that Purpose, engaged the El-----r of *Ba-----ria* to their Interests, in order to weaken *France*. Had they brought the King of *Prussia* over; then indeed they had done somewhat worthy of themselves — but that alas! was never thought of — It was enough for their Honours to gain a half ruined young Prince, who was ready to seek shelter from any that would protect him — This done, they send one of their most famous *Chiefs* to tickle the Ears of the *Dutch*, to induce them to come into their Measures. Great was the Success they flattered themselves with, from the known Abilities of their Em — d — r; but the *Dutch* were too crafty to be tickled into
the

the Net, and took in the P——r, the same way as he thought to have caught them : So the whole Negotiation ended in long Harrangues, fine Speeches, and complimenting Letters. Nevertheless, our new M——rs gave out very boldly that they had obtained their Ends ; and the *H——drs* were following our Steps with all Speed : But this is not the first L—— nor the first Piece of Assurance, that they have palmed upon us since the Commencement of their Ad-m--st-n.

Thus Kings have been drawn on by Degrees, 'till they are at length arrived to the Pass that I laid down before, insomuch that we are not a Jot nearer gaining Peace upon honourable Terms, than we were at the Beginning of the War ; neither are we any nearer obtaining Satisfaction for the immense Expences
we

we have been at. And thus have I traced the Progress of Corruption, and *H-n-v-r-i-n* Influence, from *Or-f-d's* Administration to this Time: having shewn that they have been the Springs of all our Transactions from that Time to this; and if so, consequently are also the Causes of the present melancholy *Scenes* both at home and abroad; as these are entirely the Result of our former Transactions and Measures.

The Chain of Facts that I have made use of in this Discovery, are too undeniable to be contested: But if any Person can account for the present State of Affairs, without the Assistance of either of these two Machines, *C-r-pt-n* and *H-n-r-~~n~~* Influence; I shall readily submit and acknowledge myself in an Error. Or if any of the new ministerial

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rial

rial Party, should be so far from being convinced that Affairs are in the Situation I have represented ; as to deny it, I am ready, upon Condition of their obtaining me a thorough Indemnification, for some particular Expressions I shall be obliged to use, to make it as plain as the Nose on a Man's Face.

But seeing the many Tricks, Screens, and Evasions, that they have lately been obliged to use ; may not we suspect that Things are rather in a worse Condition than what I have here represented ? If we gain the least trivial Advantage, it is magnified even to such a Rate as at last to lose all Credit. If we meet with a Misfortune, or a Defeat, the Loss is so excessively diminished, that upon second Report we take it to have been only a Skirmish. Soon after the late Battle, when

when the Praises of the Regularity of the Retreat, made more Noise in our Ears, than the Guns of the Tower would have done for a Victory ; was it not confidently asserted that we had saved our Artillery ? 'till soon after an Order coming to the Ordonance-Office for more, put a Stop to the Falshood, to the Confusion of the Assertors. Nay even our *Gazettes*, tho' publish'd by A-

- -y, are taught to L - - in the politest Manner. That if *Brussels* is of late so full of *Ironicisms* and Hodge Podge in relating the Transactions of the *Austrian* and Allied Armies, as scarce to admit of a Translation, and ours very often gives us a Piece of News, rather to be wished true than that it is really so ; and which, perhaps, is contradicted in the next Paragraph. I need go no farther for an Instance than in the *Gazette* of Saturday Ju-

ly, 13th, 1745. where in the Letter from the *Hague*, of July 18th, are these Words, *viz.* “ There is
 “ yet no Account of the *French* ha-
 “ ving made themselves Masters of
 “ the Citadel of *Ghent*, or the
 “ Town of *Bruges*. General *Molk*,
 “ with the Squadrons he saved out
 “ of *Ghent*, is arrived at *Jas de*
 “ *Grand*.” What manifest Contra-
 dictions, after all the Public Papers
 had confirmed the taking of *Ghent*
 and *Bruges*, by the *French*; out-
 steps this little *Gazette*, and has the
 Assurance to contradict them, and
 himself too : For, if *Ghent* was not
 taken, why did General *Molk* quit
 it ? Or how, otherways, can he be
 said to have saved his Squadrons
 from thence ? Or if the Citadel held
 out, how came the *French* Army to
 march to *Oudenard*, before they had
 reduced it ? whither it was con-
 firmed by all the foreign Papers they
 were

were gone. — But this shews, to what little Shifts the M — y are driven, to keep up the Spirits of the People.

It would have been no difficult Matter to have prognosticated our Success this Campaign, when it was perceived that we were pursuing the same Steps as we took the Last : But however, the Blame is all laid upon the *Dutch*, tho' we are the Sufferers. — And indeed we have really Occasion to blame them, for delaying to send the Forces that are stipulated for them to furnish as Auxiliaries ; ----- but that they are to be censured for not entering the War as Principles, is what I cannot acquiesce in ; therefore must beg leave, before I conclude, to offer a few Words in their Behalf, which, I hope will be the readier granted me, as I do not find that any one as yet has appeared in their Favour.

The

The *Hollanders*, are a People whom I never took to be our Friends, farther than Interest compelled them. It is true they owe their very Being, as a State to our Queen *Elizabeth* ; but it seems they either think that Time has obliterated the Obligation, or that they have sufficiently repaid it otherways. They are now their own Masters, and so far from owing us any Subjection, they are endeavouring as much as is in their Power, to bring us under the Hatches, by depriving us of as many Branches of Trade as they conveniently can : How much, or how justly soever we may upbraid them with this, we cannot certainly censure for not becoming Principals in a War of our own stirring up. In order to judge of another, it is necessary that we put ourselves in their Circumstances. Let us therefore imagine, that we were become Masters

sters of a most affluent Trade, which we had been many Years in bringing to the Perfection it is in ; and let us suppose also, that a neighbouring Nation was our Rival in several Branches of Commerce, and looked on our Progress with an evil Eye . But, however, that we were in Alliance with that Nation, having agreed mutually to defend each other whenever attacked. Now supposing this Nation, without ever consulting with us, rushes precipitately into a War with a rich Potent, and inveterate Enemy ; and that we cannot help observing, that it will be impossible for that Nation to reap any Advantages therefrom ; neither are we thoroughly apprized of the Inducements leading to this War ; nor of the Motives, for which it is waged ; neither can we perceive any Interest pursued thereby, unless such as is quite Foreign to that

Nation,

Nation, serving only to aggrandize a distant People, with whom we have no Concerns either in Trade or otherways : Supposing this to be the Case, I say, betwixt our Neighbours and us ; would we be willing to plung ourselves into a long and inextricable; ruinous War, on Account of our Neighbours Rashness or Folly ? ---- Certainly, No, but is it not the Circumstances of the Case I-just now recited, parallel to that between the *Dutch* and us ? Have we not entered on a greivous, ruinous Land War ; to the impoverishing ourselves and Posterity, without any Views of Retribution ? Did we consult them before we marched our Forces ? ---- Are they obliged, if they perceive it to be a Destructive War, to enter into it to ruin themselves to humour us in our *Quixotisms* ?

Do they not reap more Advantage
tage

tages from a peaceful Commerce, than any they could hope for by entering into War ? Or, Would they not readily join us in any Enterprize on the Continent, had we no other Interests to serve there but our own ? Was not our leaving them in the Lurch, at the End of the last War, sufficient to deter them from engaging hand-over-head with us again ? 'Tho' these Reasons, if rightly considered, may be sufficient to excuse them from entering as Parties with us in the present War ; nevertheless, I cannot help thinking, that thhy may have some other which are unrevealed as yet, of a much stronger Nature. Nay, it even begins to be talked of, as if they were piqued at some Engagements that they had discovered between the Queen of *Hungay* and us, concerning *Oslend* ; which if executed would be very

H

much

much to their Disadvantage. I must confess that it seems to me to be a Sort of *Solecism* in Politicks, to try all Means to gain the Assistance of an Ally, and at the same Time be undertaking such Measures as must certainly disoblige them, if not create an utter Enmity. ---The *Dutch* are a free People, Trade is their Support, and Nobody can blame them for being jealous of that Support ; for when once they lose their Trade, all is lost to them. This they know full well, and it is on this Account, they are so slow and timorous, of entering into the Warfare ; not that they are destitute of Means sufficient in their Hands to defend or revenge themselves: But it is a sort of Maxim among them, that whilst a trading People are engaged in War, their Commerce is sure to suffer for it ; this makes them to Trade very wary,
well

well knowing that the Loss of a few Ships, would be a greater Damage to them, than that of all the Towns in *Flanders*.

I had almost forgot to mention another very great Inconvenience, into which the *Hollanders* would be led by their entering into a War which is, that of chusing a *Stadt-holder* ; This is what they can hardly bear the Thoughts of, since his Power in Time of War is so unlimited, as to be almost arbitrary. But as I believe the strongest Arguments will not induce them to take the Field, unless the *French* directly attack them ; therefore I think the Election of Stadtholder far enough off ; not that I have any Suspicion of a private Understanding between the States and *France* ; for the *D---ch* are too subtle, and too well acquainted with that Court, to trust her in any Intreagues. But
Time

Time will dissolve all Things; therefore I shall take my Leave of them for the present, not doubting but they have as many Reasons for their pacific Operations, and perhaps as strong, as we can for our military, whenever they shall think proper to divulge them.

F I N I S.

Just Published :

HANOVERIAN POLITICKS; in a Letter from a Gentlemen at *Hanover* to his Friend in *England*.

